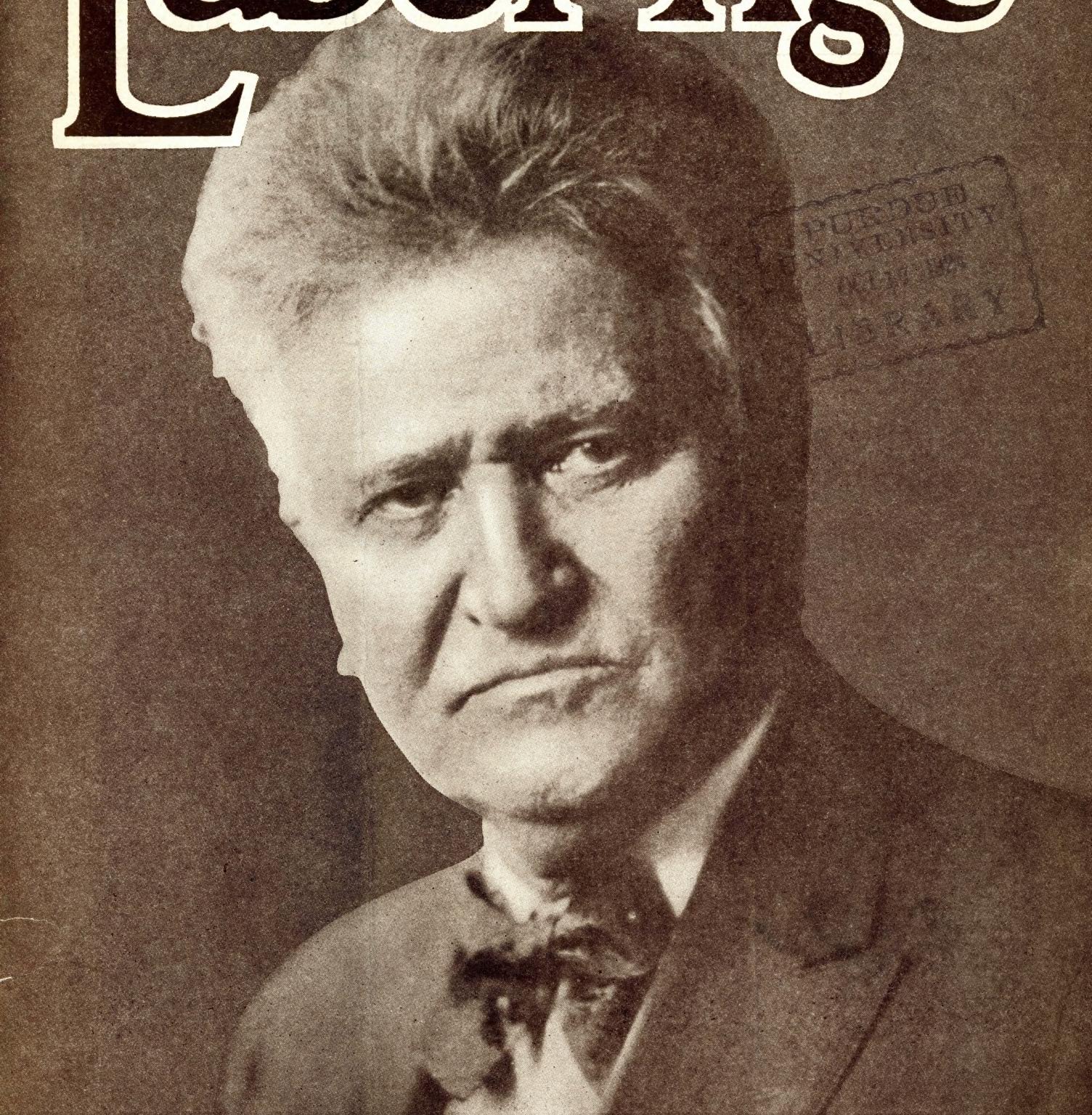


AUGUST 1924

# labor Age



**THE CHALLENGE**

624

*Wall Street vs. Farmers, Workers, Ex-Soldiers*

20c per copy

\$2.00 per year

A Monthly Labor Digest

Published by Labor Publication Society, Inc., Evening Telegram Building, Seventh Ave. and 16th St., New York

Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American  
labor movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control.

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## THE CHALLENGE

**I**F a man, ten times your size, seizes upon you, beats you up, insults your wife, burns down your house, kidnaps your child and steals your pocket-book—you will have the right, no doubt, to be mildly angry.

If he should continue to commit these deeds, whenever he got the chance—you could be pardoned for becoming excited.

If you find him doing the same thing to all your humble neighbors—you will be a fool if you do not join with them to give him a good thumping.

Mr. Farmer and Mr. Worker, there is your cue. Wall Street has challenged you and your manhood. We talk much of our American freedom. Let us discover if we have the courage to make it real. Mere sentimental tears mean nothing. Professional mourners are present at every bier. There is nothing so common in every village in this land as the petty politician, "paying his respects to the late departed," in the hope of catching the votes of the living relatives.

The Republican and Democratic parties have given the farmers and the workers nothing but tears. The ex-soldier they have treated in like fashion.

Under Mr. Coolidge's oil-drugged administration, the farmers suffered a loss of farms that beat all previous records. They are offered—sympathy!

The workers on the mines and railroads saw the use of the militia and courts against them, as never before. What do they get? Not even sympathy.

The postal employees asked for a living wage, and were denied it. But the postmasters got a good-sized raise.

The ex-soldiers were granted an "insurance policy," over Cal's veto. He did not want even to

give them that. Their lost wages during the war were not returned to them. Today La Follette alone demands that they receive a full and just compensation. Big Business smiles—and spurs on Davis and Coolidge, the ex-soldiers' enemies.

Under Andrew Mellon's sage guidance, Coolidge attempted to put over a tax steal that would have piled added burdens on the wage earners and farmers. The Progressives stopped it. But La Follette demands further that the burden be lifted entirely from the backs of the small, and be put on the back of Big Business itself.

The Democrats have answered Coolidge's reactionary acts by—naming Mr. John W. Davis of Wall Street as their candidate. It is amusing. The same papers which attacked Mr. McAdoo as "Doheny's attorney" now find Mr. Davis, as the attorney of Morgan, the A. T. and T. and other big corporations, a man pure and undefiled.

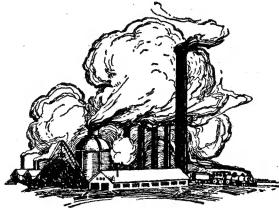
They tell us he is such a "high class man," such an "able man," such an "honest man." A man who works for Morgan can easily be all of these. Honesty is a relative term. But—where is his pocketbook? There lies his heart. To whom will he look for his livelihood, after his defeat? To Morgan, the A. T. and T. and other enemies of the common people.

It reminds us of the words Macauley puts in the mouth of Milton, when the same nice things were urged in behalf of King Charles: "For his private virtues they are beside the question. *If he oppress and extort all day, shall he be held blameless because he prayeth at night and morning?*"

We are not the first, by any means, to quote this

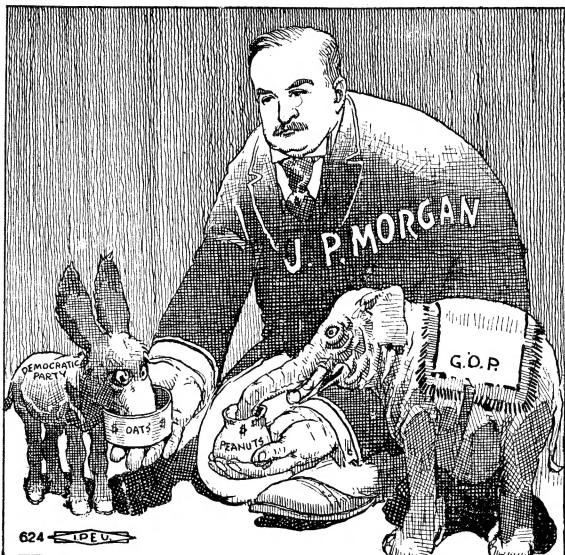
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# Labor Age



## The Challenge Accepted

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ



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**BOTH EATING OUT OF HIS HANDS**

**Y**OU and I, Brother Worker, are as children today.

We are playing on the floor of the world, as our children romp on the floor of our homes. We are looking through the pages of history, in this time of crisis, as our children look through the pages of a book of fairy tales.

At each turning of the page, we laugh with glee, even as our children do. For the whole business is funny. No, not strange—but really funny. It makes us optimistic in our present fight for right.

We learn much in those pages that give us hope. We learn that History has a strange and wonderful way of repeating itself. Each time the repetition



N. Y. Leader

**A DISMAL OUTLOOK—FOUR MORE YEARS**

is on a different stage. But the act, with some local changes, is much the same.

Cleveland. July 4th, 1924. Over one thousand delegates have gathered to name Robert Marion La Follette as the leader of the farmers and workers of America, in their fight against Monopoly. The organ has played in the huge Municipal Auditorium, while the lighting effects have brought us from twilight to dawn. Songs, expressing our hope in the coming battle, have been sung.

When lo! the Chairman announces that the Declaration of Independence will be read. What a thrill at that news. As Jim Maurer says, the last time he heard of its being read in public, the reader

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was arrested for sedition against the United States! The Powers that Be, traitors to the ideals of America, fear to have that document brought to the attention of the people.

As the words of the Declaration come to our ears, we see "in our mind's eye" a moving picture of the struggles of the Fathers of the Country. They are the same as our own. As with us, the Tories used the courts against them. The officials of the Crown attacked them. They were taxed without their consent. They were often beaten and killed, when they made orderly protest. They were the strikers and bankrupt farmers of 1776—battling on the stage of another set of class conditions against Oppression.

### A Feared Document: The Declaration of Independence

"All men are created equal." "Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed." "Whenever any government becomes destructive of these ends, (the safeguarding of Life, Liberty and Happiness), it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and their Happiness."

Little wonder that the servants of Wall Street in the two old parties suffer a chill of fear as they hear these words. It is the handwriting on the wall, which proclaims them the betrayers of the things for which America stands. It is not the rights of the people which are their concern. Merely the privileges of their Royal Masters—the Money Trust and its Gamblers. And the day of accounting between the People and Mammon has arrived.

The magic carpet of History, like the magic carpet of the Arabian Nights, carries us to many lands and ages—to show us that the fight for liberty is always the same fight. It always ends in Victory for those underneath.

The reading of Lincoln's "Gettysburg address" at the Cleveland gathering, after the Declaration, reminds us of that. The struggle against Slavery parallels in a peculiar way the present battle against Monopoly. In almost every way.

### "No Slavery"

Between 1830 and 1860 the Abolitionists held aloft their banner of "No Slavery." The Government then was in the hands of the Slave Power. The Supreme Court was that Power's willing tool. The press, as a whole, groveled before it. Great numbers

of the pulpiteers licked its hand in willing submission.

The Abolitionists in that day were the outcasts. They were the heretics. They were the ones whom the fat-paunched editors, in their sanctums, called "radicals" and "traitors." Bloodhounds were used to track these anti-slavery agitators. The whip was applied to them—and the hose. Mobs killed them in broad daylight—"mobs in broadcloth," the "gentlemen" of that day. Even after his election in 1860, Lincoln was called a traitor by the NEW YORK HERALD—Lincoln, who merely declared himself against the "extension" of slavery!

You can read that story in the second volume of the LIFE OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, by his sons. You can catch the spirit of the thing in Wendell Phillips' speeches—particularly in his famous fiery talk on THE MURDER OF LOVEJOY. Then, it was in Faneuil Hall, Boston, that the Attorney-General of Massachusetts—ah! Calvin Coolidge, what a parallel—arose to denounce the murdered Lovejoy as a traitor and to extol the pro-slavery mob as "patriots." Phillips stood up, in the height of his indignation and young manhood, to show that Lovejoy's was the continued fight for freedom, and that the mob were false to the principles of our republic.

Similar have been the events in the past 40 years of our day and age. Non-partisan Leaguers, Socialists, labor organizers—have felt the knot of the Monopoly Power. Jailings, tar and feathers, mob murder—have been their lot. Workers, searching for their right to live, have been faced by the injunctions of sleek "respectable" and "upright" judges. Debs in prison, the railwaymen attacked by Daugherty, the miners "enjoined" by Palmer, La Follette pilloried by the hue and cry of the Associated Press and the prostitutes in the Senate. That is the picture of America in the last few decades.

The force of the anti-slavery movement could not be destroyed. Slavery finally was killed. The force of the anti-Monopoly movement will go on, likewise, to Victory. Monopoly will die. Government by the people will be restored.

### "A Prey to Prosperity"

Imagine that you could get off from the earth a bit, to look at the present situation in America. This country, as with Dickens' Mr. Boffin, is a "prey to prosperity." The reactionary Republican Party has talked long and loud—down through the days of McKinley and Mark Hanna, into those of Taft, Harding and Coolidge—about "prosperity." It was

the prosperity of the few; the growing insecurity of the many.

In H. H. Kohlstaat's **FROM MCKINLEY TO HARDING**, we learn how the Men in High Places took care of their favorites in those days. Governor McKinley, just before his election to the Presidency, went "busted." Foolishly, he signed notes beyond number for a friend. The amount ran into the hundreds of thousands. In such a predicament, he could not be a candidate for the Presidency. So, Mark Hanna ran about the country, among the rich men who would want Protection later, and raised the amount as a gift to McKinley, at that time Governor of Ohio. It was not even a loan, mind you—but a gift. Can it be wondered that Mark, the go-between of Wall Street, ruled the roost? In McKinley's administration, the big combines grew and waxed fat, under the smiles and benedictions of the White House.

The Big Business control of our government grew to the proportions of a national scandal in the regime of Mr. Taft. But it was a scandal small indeed compared to the corruption unearthed concerning the present Republican administration. The oil disclosures have taken a prominent place in the public mind. They are no more important than the graft in the Veterans' Bureau, the soft treatment of the railroads, the anti-labor attitude of the White House, the reeking corruption of Daugherty's department, and the Ford deal for Muscle Shoals. The latter was made with the stench of oil still in our nostrils. Mr. Ford was supposedly an independent candidate for the Presidency. He visited Mr. Coolidge. He came out of the White House, a Coolidge man. Also, he came out, with Mr. Coolidge publicly pledged to giving him Muscle Shoals.

#### The Bankrupt Parties

"Liberty produces wealth, and wealth destroys liberty," says Henry Demarest Lloyd. The liberty-destroying period in American history is certainly here. Unless—we can hedge in the Wealth Controllers and turn their power over to the hands of the Wealth Producers.

In the face of this condition, what have the old parties done? Republicanism has produced—Coolidge and Dawes. Coolidge, the enemy of the ex-soldier, the breaker of the Boston police strike, the office boy of Andrew Mellon. Dawes, the father of the "Minute Men"—pledged to establish the Open Shop and destroy labor unions. Democracy has put forth—Davis and Bryan!

The Republican platform is a meaningless, reactionary document. It is silent on the great corruption in the Government—giving consent, thereby, to all that was done. Mr. Daugherty sat as a delegate in the convention—and cast his vote for Calvin Coolidge. Well might he do so. For Cal had done all he could to shield Daugherty and to block the investigation. Cal is no enemy of corruption.

The Republicans, then, are exactly in the same position as the Democrats at the time of the election of Lincoln. They have O.K.'d everything "that is," even the poisoning of public life.

The Democrats today fill the same role as the Whigs of 1860. They are divided by Ku Klux-ism, as the Whigs were distracted by Know-Nothingism. They have become a party of compromise. They have not even the courage to attack the child labor evil—with the threat of the Southern mill owners before them.

#### Wall Street's Office Boy and Its Attorney

Wall Street, to be sure of itself, has grabbed both old parties. Its office boy fills the Republican nomination. Its attorney is the Democratic choice. But in taking this action, the Monopoly Power—as with the Slave Power of 1860—may be over-reaching itself. It is committing hari-kari. Now, the money prophets are waking up to this danger. They are crying aloud, in their towers, that the evil of La Folletteism, can be only stopped by centering on one candidate.

It is only in a great crisis that an independent movement, such as the present one, can come to pass. The Roosevelt bolt of 1912 was merely a revolt in the ranks of one party. This is a rise against both parties—the probable birth of an entirely new line-up. The circumstances are the same as those which gave birth to the Republican Party, on the question of Slavery.

The issues of the present day cannot be dodged. They are issues based on hard, cold facts. The farmers are face to face with tenantry and mortgages. A mere manipulation of the prices of wheat and corn will fool them no longer. Too much havoc has already been done. Co-operation is the remedy—with governmental assistance. Co-operative banking, which has freed the Danish farmers. Co-operative marketing, real co-operative marketing, with governmental machinery—at least in the beginning.

The railroad problem cannot be settled today by half-way measures. Regulation has been tried and

DETERMINED TO BE FREE



*Ewing Galloway*

**In the present political campaign, the workers—particularly in the machine shops of metal trades and railroads—are determined to strike a blow for their freedom from the power of Monopoly. With each year, this power has grown stronger in their industries.**

found wanting. Each step in the regulation battle has meant an additional postponement only of the final day of reckoning. Senator La Follette's greatest victory was in the passage of the Railroad Valuation Act in 1913. And yet, the Interstate Commerce Commission has been so pliant in the hands of the corporations that the nearly-completed valuation will sanction as great a steal as the watered stock deals of the past. Regulation is much like the famous boomerang of the savage. The "public" throws it at the roads—and it comes back to smite the "public." The cost of this little plaything runs into the hundreds of millions of our good, honest-to-God money. Government ownership is the answer. So has Senator La Follette declared.

**The End of Monopoly**

Monopoly ownership of Government can never be erased until Government ownership of Monopoly obtains.

Some doubting Thomases think that La Follette does not go far enough in this role of our American St. George. There are always impatient souls of this sort. Let them, again, hark back to Abraham Lincoln. Nobody could honestly accuse Abe of being a rip-roaring never-compromise Abolitionist. His protest in the campaign of 1860 was against the further spread of Slavery. But when he came to grips with the Slave Power, It was the one that would not compromise. It would not be satisfied, except that it could spread. For, it knew that there is no such thing as standing still.

La Follette, in fighting against the extension of Monopoly, has signed the death warrant of the power of Monopoly. The American workers and farmers have set about a crusade that will lead to their final freedom—and that of all the common people of the world.

# The Failure at St. Paul

By J. H. RYCKMAN

**T**HE beginning of the end.

That is what the St. Paul Convention of June 17th really was. It marked the failure of the ambition of the Communists to put over their propaganda in America under cover of another name.

A year ago at Chicago they had such astounding success in capturing the convention of the Farmer-Labor Party, that their leaders became inflated with the idea that such tactics could be repeated. The mistake made by Fitzpatrick and Buck at Chicago by inviting the Communists to participate in the Convention of 1923 was costly. The Communists took everything but the name. This they could not take. They dubbed the new aggregation thus appropriated, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. But it crumbled to dust in their clutch.

They tried the same methods at San Francisco June 1. Then a get-together conference was called by the Nonpartisan League, Farmer-Labor and Socialist Parties of that state. A large number of Communists were seated, not as members of the Workers Party or of the Federated Farmer-Labor party or of any other similar organization—but as representing trade unions. Their tactics were disruptive and not conciliatory from the beginning.

John C. Kennedy, Secretary of the Farmer-Labor Party of Washington, was present as their spokesman. His aim was to secure the admission of the Workers Party as such and to defeat one of the main purposes of the Conference—to choose delegates to the Cleveland C. P. P. A. The San Francisco Conference was overwhelmingly for La Follette on his own platform. This the Communists vigorously opposed. Be it said to their credit, they accepted defeat gracefully. The Workers Party as such was shut out and delegates were chosen both to St. Paul and to Cleveland—the Socialist Party, however, declining to sit in the San Francisco Conference with Communists.

At St. Paul, out of about 500 delegates, the Communists were in the minority. But they were well organized under the skilful leadership of Foster, Ruthenberg, Manley and Hathaway. The opposition was without organization or leadership.

The call for the St. Paul Convention contained no hint of Communism or of a revolutionary program. Not a word was in it, inconsistent with the Wisconsin platform. Upon this platform it was understood in effect La Follette would run for President, in the

event the two old parties would nominate reactionary candidates upon the usual platforms of piffle.

So, many fine men and women traveled many miles to St. Paul at great sacrifice as delegates. They came, only to learn that the "call" was written to get them to St. Paul. But it was not to be observed once they were there! From the start it was clear the "call" was to go as quickly as possible into the wastebasket and to be forgotten. The Communists were there "to build a new party; a party of the exploited workers and farmers." They were "builders," be it remembered. Bourgeois charges that they were red did not scare them; nothing could be too red for them. Then, they proceeded to make a platform. That is, Manley and Hathaway wrote a platform that Socialists of twenty years ago would have laughed at as conservative and single-taxers of today would characterize as not radical at all.

Congress is called upon to do a score or more things, Congress has no power to do; public ownership is a dream until the Communists get control of the movement—too long a time to wait, some sensible people think. The platform in short is a joke.

The ticket named is a good one. Duncan McDonald for President and William Bouck for Vice-President are high class men. But if La Follette runs as an independent the St. Paul ticket will serve only to show how paltry was the gesture at St. Paul "to build a party." It will demonstrate how few Communists there are in the United States and how efficient at all times, for the comfort of the enemy, is the propaganda of defeat and the counting of the names of the radicals at the ballot box.

The fact of the matter is, the Communists do not believe in political action at all. Their literature reeks with ridicule of political action. They all with one accord implicitly believe in its futility. They omit no opportunity to demonstrate the validity of their belief. They are probably sincere in this belief. So have all fanatics been sincere. But sincerity is no virtue. It's often a malady. The most important leaf in the Communist Handbook of Tactics is taken from the Jesuit Manual of Procedure—the end always justifies the means. To bring about the revolution and the dictatorship of the Proletariat, it is perfectly proper to deceive, to disseminate, to misrepresent, to flim-flam, to cajole.

But most people resent being deceived and lied to and buncoed. It may seem the shortest way to the goal. To me it looks like the longest way round.

# Ups and Downs of American Labor

*"Off Again" and "On Again" Regarding Political Action*

By MARTYC MARTROS

**B**ACK and forth, between industrial and political activities, has the American Labor Movement swung during the period of its existence. That is, roughly, the tale of its rise, growth and achievements.

In times of "prosperity", there have been vigorous wars against the employers on the industrial field. In times of depression, there has been a swing toward political action.

All the way through the colonial period—till the first couple of decades of the 19th century—is what may be called the dormant stage of the workers' movement. Then it was like a child in the womb of its mother. But when the Napoleonic wars ended, Europe entered into a time of peace. The United States profited by this turn of events. Large amounts of capital found their way into manufacturing. The Atlantic coast states displayed a considerable development in iron and steel, leather, shipbuilding and textile industries. With the rising manufacturing class, the workers awakened to a realization of their own interests, so far as a "just wage" was concerned. They began to see that they must organize on class lines. It was then, in the midst of this industrial prosperity, that the trade union movement was born. The skilled workers joined together in their local unions—associations of local workmen in specific trades or crafts.

This closer association on the industrial field also reflected itself in the political field. Unlike the European workmen, Americans had this field open to them by the recognition of their right to vote without property qualification. Workers, attacked by laws restricting their union efforts, entered the political arena first in Philadelphia in 1827. The "Mechanical Union of Trade Associations" took up the fight. In 15 states local labor parties were launched, 20 labor papers spreading their message and program. The philosophy of the political movement was the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence—that all men are created free and equal. For their practical program, their demands were: (1) A 10-hour day; (2) Restriction of child labor; (3) End of the convict labor contract system; (4) Free and equal public education; (5) Abolition of imprisonment for debt; (6) Exemption

of wages and tools from seizure for debt; (7) Wiping out of sweatshops in homes and factories.

## Out of the First Political Effort

This first political experiment died away within five years. But during its existence, it became somewhat of a success at the polls. Out of it there came: the abolition of imprisonment for debt, the acceptance of the 10-hour day as just working time, and the foundation of popular education. It must be mentioned that in general "the results were local, temporary and expensive in time, money and effort". These reasons led to its death.

While the attention of the workers had been thus drawn toward political agitation, their labor unions had mostly lost their former organized strength. But a new situation set in that had to be faced by a quick reorganization of their scattered and disunited forces. This situation arose out of the invasion of women, children and immigrants into industry—helped along by the development of inventions, leading to the machine system. These new events, threatening the life of the worker's unions, was met by the rapid growth of Trade Unionism itself.

By 1836, the seaboard cities counted a union membership of 300,000. Central labor bodies were established—combinations of trade unions in a single city. Single trades were unified on a national scale, and strikes for higher wages were crowned with success.

But this state of affairs could not go on without an almost certain halt. Capitalistic contradictions were at work. There came the Great Panic of 1837. The whole financial system of the United States collapsed. Unemployment, unions falling to pieces, labor press disappearing—these were the order of the day. Again there was a rush into political activity, reform movements springing up like mushrooms. An "Agrarian League" sprang up, inspired by Henry George's preachings that the land—the gift of Nature—should be divided among those who would work it. Utopian socialistic theories come into being. From across the water, the ideas of Fourier led to the formation of "phalanxes" (groups of workmen trying to work out a common life). Their functioning was halted in every

case by lack of unity and interest. Petty quarrels and rivalries drove them to the wall.

#### Rise of a Powerful Class

During these panicky years, the Capitalist-System—still in its youth—had readjusted itself somehow. A nation-wide industrial prosperity set in—benefited largely by the discovery of gold in California. It brought in its wake the rise of a new powerful capitalist class. This expressed itself on the political field through the Republican party and on the industrial field through vast undertakings, hitherto unknown in America or the world at large. New plants were built, equipped with new machinery, ships were constructed, harbors made, the West conquered by railroad tracks.

This change in the life of the country made necessary a similar change in the Labor Movement. It was in this day that new labor leaders came into the field, agitating for new demands. "The old locals that had not perished in the panic of 1837", we read, "were established as industry spread, and new national unions of specific trades were founded". The question of immigrants—who flocked to this country after 1848—was handled so as to draw them into the labor unions. A lively movement went on from coast to coast, all through the years between 1850 and the Civil War, "marked by strikes of greater frequency and magnitude, and this in spite of the fact that collective bargaining was becoming more and more common in the leading trades."

This latter fact in itself points to the growth of prosperity, the piling up of surplus product—which fatally should halt when industrial depression should set in. That depression came in 1857, bringing into being untold evils for the working class.

Strangely, as it went on, this panic changed into a new era of "good times". The Civil War was the cause—the armed struggle between the Knights of Cotton and those of Iron, the capitalists of the South and North. The latter were determined to do away with cheap slave labor, which made their Southern rivals over-flourish; the former to retain this source of their financial strength. Banks and factories thrive off of war, temporarily. So it happened here. Capital united more and more. Industries, granted high tariffs expanded rapidly in the feverish war times. All this implied the need for union action, which came into existence with the usual effects.

#### After the Civil War

On the whole, however, the war really left the wage earners worse off than they were before; although the number of unions increased between 1863 and 1864 from 79 to 270. This was a gain of almost 30 per cent in one year. The trend of industrial life from 1863 to 1866, with business booming everywhere in the North, pushed the unions into new activities that lasted until 1872. The formation of local unions was followed by the establishment of more national unions. There was a general movement on foot for shorter hours, higher wages and cooperative production.

One of the important undertakings was the bringing to life of the National Labor Union, that was to last for six years (1866-1872). It was a federation, uniting city trades assemblies—these representing in turn the organized crafts of their respective localities. The National Labor Union made a drive for the 8-hour day—and pushed that idea of a shorter work-day forward on its road to adoption. It also was responsible for the establishment of the first bureaus of labor statistics. It took an active part in politics (particularly in Greenbackism) and was interested in cooperation. By 1872 its day was done. It could not meet the demands of the time—for it was built on the wrong lines for that purpose. The employing class were as yet engaged in keen competition with each other; and to battle successfully with these opponents, the National Unions should have been built on craft union lines rather than on local trades assemblies. For, these assemblies could not act with any harmony, and their interests were too diverse to make for unity of action.

After this failure, the workers made a new attempt to create a "pure and simple" trade union movement, with a philosophy of compromise between Capital and Labor. But this was short-lived. The panic of 1873 swept away the large part of the labor unions. The usual wave after wave of unemployment, wage cuts, and disorganization fell upon the workers. Labor leaders, also, were driven to cover by blacklists and prosecutions. Strikes were met by violence and terror of all kinds. The use of Federal troops in industrial disputes and injunctions against the unions again drew Labor into politics. These movements, compared with the former ones, were more radical and socialistic.

#### The Knights of Labor Appear

The Knights of Labor—first an underground, then an open workers' organization—was striving to put through a program of socialistic "immedi-

## LABOR AGE

ate demands". The Greenback advocates were supposed to help the workers by spreading about in the land their program of forbidding private banks the right to issue currency. This right, according to them, should be exercised only by the government itself. It was a movement confined principally to farmers and small business men; and it did not last long. Socialists were propagating their ideas, either through their own party machinery or by means of other labor organizations. The Knights of Labor was their particular stronghold. Such was the picture of things as they were in the decade of panics, politics and labor chaos, that ended with the return of prosperity in 1879.

This "coming back of the cat" was marked by another change, both in the efficiency of the capitalist and working classes. The power of capital was increased a great deal. A huge national market opened for manufactured goods. Immense grants of public lands were offered the railways. Rivers, railroads, telegraphs were put into more extensive use. Machines were running at full speed, producing more machines. The importance of Labor increased. Industry entered the stage where productive powers outdistanced the growth of the market. This not only brought about more intense periodical crises, but also forced capital to overpass the national boundaries, penetrate southern countries, stretch over the lands beyond the Pacific and Atlantic, and come into competition with British Capital. Facing these developments, workers also began to move. The labor market was short of hands, thus opening the way for unionism. But all these material changes brought along with them a radical change in the outlook of the working class at large. The workers—and particularly the skilled ones—became "wage conscious". Their chief demands and aspirations were for a higher and higher wage and shorter hours of work. The farther away proposals were thrown overboard.

### Enter the A. F. of L.

This new tendency showed itself in the new unionist attempts at organization. The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions was born in 1881, five years later to become the American Federation of Labor. This was a conscious attempt on the part of the skilled workers to safeguard their own interests—organizing themselves independently of the unskilled—on a purely craft basis. The national or international trade union became the basic unit of the new Federation. Its program, based on the principles of "pure and simple trade unionism", stood for those things which would make

stable and well-grounded an organization of this character. The history of the trade union movement from 1881 up to the present time—and certainly from 1890—has been principally a recital of the work of the A. F. of L. This work has been limited by the following tenets: (1) Avoidance of radical economic theories; (2) avoidance of independent political action; (3) trade agreements. The proper conduct of this organization was made certain by a system of high dues and benefits within the national unions—still maintained to the present day.

In conformity with its beliefs, the Federation did not take part in the political movements, revived by the industrial depression of 1884-1886. Local unions, however, did participate in several political efforts. There was the Agrarian Party, proposing as cure-all for the ills of mankind, the single tax; it was supported mainly by middle class radicals and professional people. The movement of the Knights was still socialistic. And Socialists, suffering from exhaustion caused by serious struggles with Anarchism—were working through them. The agitation of the Anarchist "Black International" received its death-blow in the unfortunate Hay Market Meeting. The presence of bomb-throwers was enough for a wave of popular indignation against Anarchism—no matter what the causes that led up to such violent acts.

Thus, the several years preceding 1887 were a period of political agitation—with Agrarians, Socialists, Knights and other bodies busy, attempting to put through their differing programs. The membership of the Knights reached its high point in 1887. That year it included a membership of 700,000, as against 150,000 in the A. F. of L. But the advantages the skilled workers had in the market won for the Federation—to the detriment of the Knights—an ever-growing organized power.

### A. F. of L. Unchallenged

The A. F. of L. gradually became almost the unchallenged workers' organization in the industrial field. It began to swing upward in numbers. The panic of 1892 neither could break up its organization, nor commit the Federation to political action. However, political action in some form was necessary. The centralized power of the government had been felt more deeply after the Civil War. The employing class had learned more effectively how to make use of the machinery of the State. The injunction, tested once in 1887, in the railroad strike, was again put into practice in the great Pullman



#### NO COMMENT NEEDED

These pictures, both copyrighted by the Star Company, and appearing in the Hearst papers, tell an eloquent story of the present political situation in the Old Parties. Nothing further need be said.

strike in Chicago in 1894, issued against Eugene V. Debs and his associates.

The terms of this court writ were such as to effect not only specifically mentioned persons, but a generality of persons. This general or blanket injunction made a political battle necessary, whereas the policy of the Federation and its leader, Samuel Gompers, had been to handle legislative demands by persuasion, avoiding political controversies. In the campaign of 1896, however, while the Federation did not enter politics on a class or independent basis, Gompers did throw his support to Bryan, the Democratic candidate. Bryan was also endorsed in that campaign by the Populists, party of the small employing interests and the discontented farmers. This policy of the A. F. of L. has been gradually widened—though it has never gone so far as to endorse a separate labor party, to which it remains in the main still opposed.

Some unions, as is pretty well known, have never

joined the ranks of the A. F. of L. Prominent among these are the four railway Brotherhoods—Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Railway Trainmen, Locomotive Engineers, and the Conductors. There are also the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Food Workers Union, both "insurgent" unions. As a dual union, there is the I. W. W.—mostly confined to migratory workers in the West.

Today a new spirit is abroad in the ranks of Labor. New industrial developments are bringing new demands and new aspirations. There is talk of closer union. Steps are on foot to effect that in a number of cases. An intelligent and serious attempt to form a Labor Party can very possibly soon meet with success. The story of what has gone before—the swing this way and that—shows how closely we must watch events to make certain that the right hour for new things is at hand. But economic conditions—arising out of the World War—are hurrying us on to new steps and new methods on the part of Labor.

# Illinois Tackles Superpower

*The Miners Look for a Way Out*

By McALLISTER COLEMAN

*Illinois! The name recalls the 90,000 miners of that state—a powerful army of Labor.*

*This army is facing a dread enemy—unemployment. The first step which it has taken to attempt to rout its foe is sketched here. Defects there may be in it, but these—let us hope—will be ironed out in time. Mr. Coleman's article is valuable to every section of the Labor Movement, because it shows of what the miners are thinking.*

THE Illinois Mine Workers' Union (District No. 12, U. M. W. of A.) has frequently been called "the strongest unit of organized labor in this country." President Frank Farrington of that organization has again caught the attention of the press, engineers and friends of labor everywhere by his farsighted proposal for the setting up of Giant Power plants in Illinois. These will improve and stabilize the coal industry of that State. These will also supply cheap and abundant power to its farms and industries.

Farrington's idea is the sort of thing one has learned to expect from Illinois, radical but founded on common sense, long visioned and a frank meeting of a grave problem. Every coal digger knows that the industry has rarely been in such desperate straits as today. Such coal as is being moved is coming up to industrial centers from the non-union mines south of the Ohio River. As Farrington grimly said in his report to the Peoria convention of his district:

"As a matter of fact, this competition (non-union) has already reached a proportion which has become a serious menace to the life of our organization and the coal industry of Illinois as well. The widespread unemployment we have experienced of late in the Illinois field is traceable largely to the competition of Kentucky and West Virginia coal, which is underselling Illinois coal in the Chicago market.

. . . In other words, we find ourselves in a position where every increase in wages and lowering of hours is followed by a reduction of production in the organized fields for the benefit of the unorganized. And if we follow this tendency to its logical sequence we may imagine a situation where our wages and conditions are so favorable as to put an end to the coal industry in Illinois."

Here is indeed a pretty kettle of fish. In Illinois, one hundred per cent organized, one hundred and fifty mines are closed down and close to 40,000

miners out of work. They are fishing and farming and doing road work, while long lines of non-union coal cars go trundling through their back yards. The three year agreement stops any talk of strike. What to do?

#### **Operators Merely Tear Shirts in Despair**

Farrington and the other officials of the union put their heads together. They called in experienced research men and engineers and decided that here was something that called for drastic measures. Evidently the situation is due to no temporary depression. Carried to its logical conclusion, as Farrington carried it, it indicates that something must be done by the miners themselves to stabilize their own industry. As long as the operators can think of nothing better to do than to tear their expensive shirts in the lobbies of Chicago hotels, it is up to the coal diggers themselves.

So here in brief is the proposal of the head of the Illinois Miners, accepted by the delegates at the last biennial convention:

First. To create a semi-public corporation in which the Illinois Mine Workers' Union, the operators and the State would be represented, so as to safeguard the interests of all concerned.

Second. To establish under this corporation one or more giant power plants on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers for the manufacture of electricity.

Third. To carry the power generated from the burning of coal at these plants over an integrated net work of major and minor power lines so that electricity would be available to every hamlet and farm-house in the State.

Fourth. To distill coal at or near the giant power stations in order to save the by-products of coal which are now wasted.

Farrington is not the sort to plunge headlong into a project of this sort without being very sure that it will work. Negotiations are now under way with engineers who have made power surveys in other states to come to Illinois and tell the miners just where their plants should be located, how much they should cost, what service they can render, what power markets they can expect to capture and all the other thousand and one engineering details that such a plan implies.

### Hitting at Waste

While the result of this survey will be of intense interest, the most exciting part of the whole affair to my mind is the fact that such a proposal has come from such a strong unit of Organized Labor. For, consider the advantages of the plan. First, it does not imply any change in the ownership of the Illinois mines. The operators benefit as well as the miners. For the former have a new market for their coal and the latter have more work. Here is no bickering over State or national ownership. It is rather a business-like proposition in which the three interested parties—owners, workers and the public, represented by the State all have a look-in. Stock in the corporation will be offered first to these three groups.

Again it strikes a blow at waste in industry, a subject all too lightly dismissed by many labor leaders. By distilling bituminous coal, the value of the coal is increased, its smoke waste diminished and its precious by-products conserved. Farrington showed in his report that under the present system of mining, one-third of the coal is left underground and lost forever. It costs nearly as much to haul a ton of coal from Southern Illinois to Chicago as it costs to produce the coal. It costs more to deliver a ton of coal from the car in Chicago to the bin of the consumer than it costs to mine the coal or to haul it from the mine to Chicago. It costs nearly as much to remove the ashes, cinders and clinkers from the basement of the consumers in Chicago and St. Louis and to haul them away and dump them as it costs to mine the coal in the first place.

"In sketching the waste in the production, distribution and consumption of coal," says President Farrington, "I have not touched upon the waste in human life and capital caused by seasonal employment and prolonged idleness. I believe, however, that a sufficient amount of criminal waste has already been pointed out, to warrant the statement that a more scientific organization of the industry would vastly increase the measure of life, comfort and happiness of the coal miners without increasing the price of light, heat and power to the consuming public."

### Farmer and Worker Alliance

Other questions of immediate interest to Labor everywhere are bound up in the Illinois Miners' scheme. There is, for example, the possibilities of an economic alliance between farmers and workers in the heavy industries and transportation. When



### THE MINERS' CURSE

This picture, by the labor cartoonist Callaghan, has appeared in many labor papers. It represents graphically the condition in the soft coal industry—the most disorganized industry in this country. One day a week is all that the miners work in many sections of the country. The Illinois Superpower Plan is an effort to meet this unemployment question. The miners of District No. 2 are also conducting classes in the study of the industry—with a view to meeting the unemployment problem.

the farmer realizes that he can get cheaper and better service from a semi-public corporation such as a power plant or a bank in which labor is the prime mover, he may come to look on labor with a very different viewpoint. Again the solving of the vexing problem of the ownership of our resources may be found to lie in just such corporations as the miners propose.

While there has been considerable comment on the Farrington plan in the old-line papers, all of it has been guarded. The change from purely defensive union tactics to the engineering viewpoint has not been noted by the editors. Or, if it has, they have been unable to catch its significance. Once the engineers have made their survey and the work of setting up the plants actually begins, we may expect to find all sorts of stories, many of them no doubt inspired by the big electrical interests, attacking the plan as impractical. In the meantime the Illinois miners are going quietly about the business of putting common sense into their industry.



THE MAN AT THE THROTTLE

The Locomotive Engineers have gone to the front in new labor ventures. Their banks extend all over the country. At their convention in July, they reorganized the Union on a departmental basis—so that all the efforts of the organization are efficiently cared for. They also are active in the campaign for the election of La Follette and Wheeler. The man at the throttle is thinking in new terms.

# Saints and Seers of Progress

## *II—William Lloyd Garrison—Enemy of Slavery*

“I CAN wish for a young man no better fortune than to be the champion of a hated cause,” wrote William Lloyd Garrison to a young man asking his advice.

Who knew better than he? Hounded through the streets of Boston in 1835 by a mob, that made up as it was of the “so-called ‘wealthy and respectable,’ ‘the moral worth,’ ‘the influence and standing,’” could yet howl after this man “Lynch him,” because he had chosen a hated cause; imprisoned in Baltimore because he had dared to assault the slave power in one of its strongholds, he yet knew the glory of working with one’s conscience, against the wrongs of the whole world.

He was born of poor parents in Newburyport, Massachusetts, in 1805. From the time he was thirteen he had to work to earn his living. His education was scanty and gained at odd moments. But from the time when he began to publish his own paper, *THE FREE PRESS*, in 1826, he was a potent factor in the great struggle for the emancipation of the slaves. In 1830, he was publishing a newspaper with his friend Benjamin Lundy, the Quaker who had converted him to the cause of the slave, in Baltimore. An article he wrote then holding up to shame a Newburyport trader who was engaging in the coastwise slave trade brought him to prison after a libel suit. But Garrison undaunted, began the publication of *THE LIBERATOR*, perhaps the most important magazine in the fight for the freeing of the slaves, the very next year.

At that time, all the respectable forces in the country, in the North as well as in the South were arrayed on the side of slavery. William Lloyd Garrison knew what it was to be slandered, to be cursed, and even to be in peril of death, for the Boston mob that pursued him in 1835 would surely have killed him, had he not been put in prison over night by a Mayor who did not want his town stained by a mob lynching.

But he remained steadfast through all these awful years to the declaration he had put in the first issue of his magazine:

“I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think or speak, or write with moderation. No! no! Tell a man, whose house is on fire, to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen; but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present! I am in earnest. I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard.”

He was the only man at that time who dared to advocate the unconditional immediate emancipation of the slaves. He would not temporize. And so he was condemned not only by those respectable wealthy men, whose pockets were lined with gold by the continuance of slavery, but also by those more moderate souls who felt that slavery, although an evil, should be gradually extinguished. But Garrison, unafraid of bold language, unafraid of the truth, would say only, “It appears to us a self-evident truth, that whatever the gospel is designed to destroy at any period of the world, being contrary to it, ought now to be abandoned.”

He was a non-resistant, but only insofar as that meant non-cooperation with evil. He realized—none more clearly than he—that of the two sides of progress, conformity with what is, and dissatisfaction with what is and desires to rise above it, and the actual effort against all nature to make a new environment, the second side was most important.

He was very fortunate. He lived to see the accomplishment of his aims. In 1865, when he suspended the publication of *THE LIBERATOR*, the slaves had all been freed, and the Thirteenth Amendment, making that emancipation constitutional had been passed. In 1864, he visited Baltimore for the first time since his imprisonment there in 1830. He found the prison where he had been, thrown down. But the court house, where he had been condemned by the slave power, was in the hands of the abolitionists. He found himself in the midst of cheering crowds.

But that that success was unimportant to him is very obvious.

In 1851, at the twentieth anniversary of the founding of *THE LIBERATOR*, Garrison, wise in his generation, and aware of the unimportance of both praise and blame, wrote what must always stand as the motto of all reformers:

“The truth is, he who commences any reform which at last becomes of transcendent importance and is crowned with victory, is always ill-judged and unfairly estimated. At the outset, he is looked upon with contempt and treated in the most opprobrious manner, as a wild fanatic or a dangerous disorganizer. In due time, the cause grows and advances to its sure triumph; and in proportion as it nears its goal, the popular estimate of his character changes, till finally excessive panegyric is substituted for outrageous abuse. The praise, on the one hand, and the defamation on the other, are equally unmerited. In the clear light of Reason, it will be seen that he simply stood up to discharge a duty which he owed to his God, to his fellow men, and to the land of his nativity.”



THE STORM FROM THE WEST

# Gamboling with the Gamblers

FROM THE FINANCIAL PRESS

**P**ARLOR Patriotism is vocally on the increase. Mah Jong is completely over-shadowed. Comfortable ladies and gentlemen now find it much more exciting and profitable to rush out and wave the flag at those "nasty workingmen and farmers."

Every morning you wake up to discover in the morning newspaper another "parlor patriot" added to the list. . The price of red, white and blue bunting will go up before the show is over.

Oh, yes: the ex-soldiers, too, are part of the game. Those ungrateful wretches! While the comfortable ladies and gentlemen fought bravely from their swivel chairs, these young men have dared to make their patriotism "commercial." They have asked for some evening up of the wages they didn't get during the Big Fight. The flag is waved at them, too. Their demands are "perfectly indecent."

The NATIONAL REPUBLICAN is thought to have invented the game. It did not like the Progressives in Congress. They were treating Mr. Daugherty, Mr. Fall and the \$1 a year patriots too roughly. So it set up a great hue and cry against Senators La Follette and Norris, in particular. They were "Bolsheviks." They were traitors to the great House of Have.

The Republican organ saw so many stars and felt so many stripes, as a result of the drubbing the Progressives gave it, that it mistook these for the rainbow of its hopes. It pulled out the flag, *a la* National Security League. "The nation must be saved," quoth it.

It is a damn shame to rob the Republican paper of the pride of authorship. But the blow must fall. It's really an old, old game. The English Tories played it on our forefathers—and lost. The slave owners played it on the common people of 70 years ago—and lost. James Russell Lowell, a perfectly respectable poet, was on the job then. And he showed up the whole trick. He tells how the cotton interests wrapped the cotton flag around them. But it did not work.

And why? Because, as Lowell said then;

"The time is ripe, and rotten ripe, for change:  
Then let it come: I have no dread of what  
Is called for by the instinct of mankind;  
Nor think I that God's world will fall apart  
Because we tear a parchment more or less."

As to the rotten ripeness of the present time, we are going to refer you today to most conservative sources. We will enter the Temple of the Money Changers. We will gambol about with the money gamblers—and learn what words of wisdom they have on our situation.

BARRON'S, the "National Financial Weekly," is an old favorite. It is published by the same folks who publish the WALL STREET JOURNAL. The mere mention of the name of La Follette gives it the cholic, ague, Bright's disease and paralysis, all at one time. It has such a high opinion of the ideals and motives of men that it has compared all our public men to those virgins in the old tale who rushed out of the captured city—asking when the "ravaging by the soldiery would begin." In other words, it understands the minds only of the Republican and Democratic Parties. It would never comprehend a Garrison or a Lincoln, a Debs or a La Follette.

Now, this organ of advice as to how to "get something out of nothing" has an article in a recent issue—God bless them—on the troubles of the farmer. Prof. Robert P. Crawford of the University of Nebraska is the victim chosen as the author. You may be sure that Professor Crawford had his article very carefully edited at 44 Broad Street, to assure that it would be "safe and sane." Or, that the editors knew in advance that the Nebraskan was of the milk-and-water variety.

Yet, this damaging statement No. 1 appears in this article: "The Great American Farmer of the Middle West is sick. For two or three years now the self-appointed agricultural doctors have been holding a consultation. Some of these doctors have applied a poultice here and there, while others have insisted that nothing short of a major operation will ever alleviate his condition."

Then, he also speaks of the stock swindles put over on the farmers. "Is it any wonder, perhaps," he asks, "that the farmer gets hot under the collar and denounces everything from Wall Street to the state and federal governments, which permit things of this sort to go on and do nothing about them?"

The worthy professor, of course, sees some "blessings" in this "adversity." He thinks that the farmers "are going to find new crops and new ways of doing things." They are no doubt going to find "new ways of doing things." One will be to control their own marketing. Another will be to control their

## LABOR AGE

own credit, and to clip the wings of the Federal Reserve System.

These thoughts are nightmares to the journal in which the professor writes. He dare not consider them seriously as remedies. The same issue in which his first article appears, also contains a long defense of the Federal Reserve System. But, in the time-honored phrase, "it don't mean anything." At least, to those farmers who have been up against the System.

Now, what is the answer of the Gambling Interests to this plight of the farmers? Nothing! Or, worse than nothing. For—as with the **WALL STREET JOURNAL**—they merely set about to thumb their noses at the men of the soil, and call them names. The discontent of the Northwest, the **JOURNAL** terms "the red flag of radicalism and La Follettism in the Northwest."

In a surge of emotion over the Hopes of the Gamblers and Profit Makers, it goes on to say:



### A NEW ANIMAL IN THE POLITICAL ZOO

"The hope of the financial and business world is that the heart of this country is sound and is not in favor of Russian radicalism or La Follette blocs or farm blocs. As one banker in the west recently put it to me, after his conference with the Democratic leaders: 'This country at the next election is going to give radicalism in the United States the worst blow it has ever received. It is going to wipe out government by 'bloc.' It is going to restore freedom

in legislation, and it is going to stand for character in government and tax reduction.'"

Parlor patriotic, to be sure! For Wall Street—the seat of the men who gouged the common people during the war and then, even refused to stand for a soldiers' bonus—is the center of the festering sore of treason to the workers and farmers. And Parlor Patriotism and treason to the people are common terms.

This hue and cry—old as the cry against the Nazarene, that he was not loyal to Caesar—is taken up by men of the mental calibre and moral decadence of Hamilton Kean, Republican National Committeeman from New Jersey. The said Mr. Kean is running for the nomination for U. S. Senator against Walter E. Edge. Which of the two is more lost in the mazes of party regularity and stupidity, Bertillon himself could not tell. Mr. Kean delivered himself of an "oration" on July 4th. In that he declared Senator La Follette to be allied, in some unknown way, with the Russian Government! We all know, in a very known way, with whom Mr. Kean is allied. With the oil robbers and with Wall Street. Only in that way could a man of his feeble intellect attain to the position he holds.

BABSON, advisor extraordinary on financial matters, is a bit shrewder than the breed we have thus far discussed. He finds, in a secret letter sent out to his clients, that La Follette has "shrewdly" cut himself away from the Communists. It will be impossible, Mr. Babson discovers, for the business press to attack him successfully on that ground.

Insulting the intelligence of the farmers, the **WALL STREET JOURNAL** thinks the temporary rise in the price of wheat will cool down their fervor for La Follette. That is the way the whole business press is whistling, to keep up courage. "High quotations for corn and wheat mean low quotations for La Follette stock," glibly remarks one of the mouthpieces of Big Business.

Thoughts of that sort reveal how far away from the farmers the organs of Big Business are. That is why they fail utterly to present a remedy for the farmers' ills. The Farm Labor Board in a panic has decided to reduce the rate on loans to co-operative marketing associations, for example. It is a peculiar time for such action to come. The **JOURNAL OF COMMERCE** states that the "lower rate is not expected to stimulate borrowing to any extent."

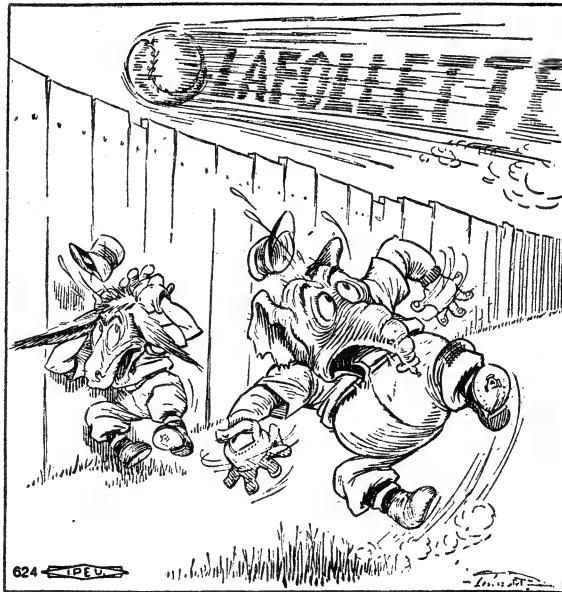
It adds: "Farmers were not discouraged from borrowing merely by high rates. Their discouragement came later after they had obtained their loans. On the other hand, they will not now be induced to

borrow by the lure of low rates when they do not require loans."

In other words, it is Tweedledum and Tweedle-dee, so far as relief for the farmers through Big Business is concerned.

At the same day and hour, we note in the same journal that the Interstate Commerce Commission has refused to cut the railroad rate on grain. The benefit to the farmers, it says, would be small compared to the big loss to the carriers. The railroads will not be getting a "fair return," if the cut is made!

Here we see the real meaning of regulation.



Cleveland Press

#### TOO HOT TO HANDLE

Public utilities cannot be looked upon as public services. They are merely private profit-making ventures. If our railroads were run on the proper basis, the interests of the farmers would come first—no matter what the cost. The Post Office does not figure on profits before giving service!

Now, while the farmers are in this plight, what about the big interests themselves? As has been noted in **LABOR AGE**, the year 1923 was the biggest in their history. Dividends poured in, as never before. They did not know what to do with them.

As a further example of how they are going, we call attention to the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. The first six months of 1924, their financial reports show, were bigger in profits than the same period in 1923. The journals of the gamblers chortle with glee over this showing. Their increase in net earnings for the period was \$3,904,676.26, despite an increase of about \$1,400,000 in expenses, including taxes. So there you are. The



Seattle Union Record

producing classes are being "gyped." They cannot hope for any succor from those who are doing the job of relieving them of their labor products.

That is the little story about the farmers. Concerning the industrial workers, we will have to speak in our next issue. Our readers know much about that, anyway. Every remedy proposed by the Big Business group merely fastens the yoke on them and the farmers a bit tighter. The Mellon tax program was one of these shell games. Thanks to the Progressives, it has been largely killed. The argument of the Mellon shouters was that taxes on large incomes would reduce the number of large taxable incomes. Every evidence we have shows that to be a lie. During 1922, when these high taxes were in effect, the number of incomes were higher than any year except the war year 1919. So say figures reported by the Treasury Department itself. The Mellon scheme, as shown by the schemers, had no justification at all in fact. It was merely a trumped up plan to help the rich still further—by cutting their taxes much more than the taxes of the poor man was cut.

Can we wonder that the **WALL STREET JOURNAL** says that everything should be left as it is, politically? Can we wonder that they raise the battle cry for Calvin Coolidge, the office boy of the Interests? They fear La Follette—and fear that the reactionary vote may be distributed between Davis and the man now in the White House. Either one of these men, they indicate, would be satisfactory. But for the sake of victory, Hang on to Coolidge!

For once, since 1860, the Powers may be disappointed.

# Hungary Under Dictatorship

By PRINCE HOPKINS

*(This is a brief supplement to Mr. Hopkins' review in the June issue of what is happening in Italy and Hungary. Here is a further glimpse of the latter country, under Horthy.)*

**A** GLANCE at the Magyar Parliament gives a glimpse, perhaps, of the present trend of the country.

If the secret ballot were respected, the representation in Parliament of the different parties would be approximately as follows:

Coalition party .....	60
Kossuth party .....	60
Socialists .....	30
Legitimatis (royalist) .....	10
Miscellaneous others .....	10

The Communists are said never to have had any following at all. The way they got in was as follows: Count Karolyi proved incapable of carrying on the government, and decided to turn it over to the Socialists. However, he knew nothing whatever about the socialists. Betrayed by one of his ministers, he turned the government over to men who weren't of the socialist party at all, but communists. There are alleged to have been only about forty real, intellectually convinced, communists, in the country. These at once established a reign of terror, shooting great numbers of persons and making great destruction. Then came the Rumanian armies—in the name of "liberty"—and all was over.

## The Chancellor and Democracy

The next day, Wednesday, our group were formally received by the Chancellor of the University, in official black priestly dress (the University being Roman Catholic) with smart magerita sashes around the middle and depending from the shoulders. He entered the hall with an escort of four soldiers in picturesque huzzar-like uniforms.

We were led to the ornate auditorium, where the chancellor read a speech of welcome. Next one of the professors read a lecture, full of many quotations, on a comparison of the literature of Hungary with that of England.

The second speaker was Dr. Alexander Krisztics of Budapest University. He gave a very good address, arguing that when a people such as the Hungarians had been unused to exercise democratic privileges, you had to go slow in giving these to them. He praised Szechenyi, who followed this cautious policy, and called Kossuth too idealistically impatient to be cool headed.

Of course, there's much in this point of view.

Only, unfortunately, in practice the party which believes in giving new liberties slowly, usually does not give them at all! It may, as in the case of the present administration, even abrogate the liberties already won. Rather than check, it leads to official corruption. On the other hand, the situation in many of these little countries is probably like that of Italy; the party in power are vicious. Everybody knows it. But the choice lies, not between Reactionism and Liberalism and Radicalism, but between Reactionism and a chaos of impotent and mutually jealous factions, with general brigandage and disorder. If such is the case (I don't say positively it is) the choice of dilemmas is hard to make. Whether the temporary disorder would lead more quickly to eventual freedom is an unanswerable question.

There was another speech, full of statistics, but the speaker's English was so bad we did not get much of it.

We were then stood up and photographed for the papers. Since that moment, from one to four photographers have been at our heels or waiting in the hotel lobby, night and day:

## Arpad's City—A Municipal Hotel

We made a trip April 17th to Esztergom, where the first king of Hungary, Arpad I think, had his stronghold. On its site is an ancient cathedral, many times destroyed and rebuilt. The bishop conducted us through this cathedral, and we saw an interesting ceremonial, in which the Cardinal washed the feet of a dozen poor men.

After that we were taken through the church treasury. In it were many wardrobes full of gorgeous ceremonial robes, golden and jewelled altar ornaments, and drinking horns for the priest's tables encrusted with precious stones.

It's no use rattling through the list of all the things we've visited, seen or been told. But yesterday we went through an interesting institution, the Municipal Hotel. Comparing it with the Mills Hotel in New York, I'd say the most striking feature was the introduction everywhere of artistic decoration in color. The Hungarians are good at that.

One gets a room (much like those in which I've slept at the Mills Hotel—possibly not quite so good) for about 2,500 crowns per night—around four cents in "real money." The only meal served is mid-day dinner, 3,000 crowns (five cents). Only men are boarded—there are 475 rooms. But some women, as well as many men, eat in the restaurant. The number of diners is much larger than that of the lodgers, say 2,000 daily. Despite its low charges

## The Land of Sunshine--and Murder



National Geographic Magazine

### ATRANI, BEAUTIFUL TOWN OF SOUTHERN ITALY

**M**URDER will out! Effect follows Cause. Mussolini, "dictator" of Italy, follows the teachings of Machiavelli. He openly boasts that force is above liberty. He has defied violence in speech after speech.

Could there be any other outcome than the foul murder of Matteotti? He was the leading anti-Fascisti leader in Parliament. A man of means, he had voluntarily become a Socialist. Although

only 41 years of age, he had held many positions of public responsibility, as a result of his party activity.

A cloud hangs over the Land of Sunshine—from cities like Atrani on the South to the far Swiss border. The Fascisti Government can never last. Because it is based on force. When its overthrow comes, it may not be without further bloodshed. He who lives by the sword perishes by it—often.

and good quality of food, this splendid institution pays four-fifths of its upkeep. One-fifth is paid by the city.

We went to another similar institution nearby. Here both women and men, if unmarried, were taken. Dormitories were provided instead of rooms, and the charge was less. They had also a children's creche, and a reading room for the use of boy scouts (who are here much in evidence). The place greatly resembled a social settlement.

On Sunday morning, (April 20th) the Bishop of Budapest Cathedral explained to us its architecture and then we heard Easter mass.

#### The Lost

Afterward, we went through the royal palace. Bela Kun, our guide said, made his home in it for five months. Its situation is superb, and it is very

beautiful inside and out. Here and in the House of Parliament (which we visited yesterday) we saw most exquisite slabs of creamy marble, from quarries which have now been taken away from Hungary. Almost with everything we are shown, there is a pathetic comment on something connected with it: "But this is now lost to us!"

We've found the Hungarians extremely nice people. Most courteous, going out of their way to help the stranger. On the other hand, whether in guiding us through a cathedral or in serving us in a restaurant, they showed no talent for organization or efficiency. That seems to be beyond them. They love leisure, perhaps, too much—and wine and the dance. Even defeat cannot rob them of these "blessings."

# About the Calling of Names

By THEODORE SCHROEDER

*With all of Mr. Schroeder's thoughts the editors and readers of LABOR AGE may not agree. But he sets us thinking, in this contribution, on the why and wherefore of some of the hysteria in movements of all sorts—conservative and radical. Read it over, and smile as you read—for you will recognize many types that we all have to face.*

**A**LL radicals are insane, in the opinion of Dr. Stewart Paton, writing in the *Yale Review*. Stewart Paton, writing in the *YALE REVIEW*. a pamphlet by a man I shall call K.

What is the reason that such extreme viewpoints are put forth? What sort of men make them? What facts of use to Labor can be learned from them?

Dr. Paton belongs to the class of professional laboratory psychologists, who are by sympathy nearly all aristocrats. Consequently the psycho-technicians write books only for employers, telling them how they can more intelligently select and exploit their employees, and the purchasing public. Some day, when intelligence rules the worker's world, we may have laboratory psychologists who will give us expert advice on how the workers can more intelligently select bosses, and labor leaders. Perhaps then the "boss" and the leader of the workers' union will be the same person. At any rate when the worker achieves that degree of intelligence, the intellectual and specialist will not be excluded from their councils, merely because they have an education. Then also intelligence will not be measured by the passionate epithets which one hurls at a competitor for positions of leadership.

Mr. K. is obviously among the most intensely radical of the workers. He has no desire to conceal either his intensity or his extreme views. He frankly justifies the feeling, which expresses itself in the quoted characterization of "God damned intellectual." He admits casually that "there are exceptions of course," to whom his strictures against the intellectual may not apply. However, he doesn't take that fact into account, and co-ordinate it with the other facts, so as to modify his conclusions, because he feels too intensely. Mr. K. sees no intellectuals, other than the "God damned" variety. In this respect, he evidences all the vehemence, intolerance and defective mental processes used by the morbid aristocrat. In fact, I think the vehement radical always has psychologically more in common with the excitable capitalist than either is aware of.

Mr. K. like the hysterical aristocrat, is so intense that he often prefers to use epithets in lieu of argument, or as his best mode of illumination. Thus we read of "rotten elements"—"parasitic worms," "accursed intellectuals" and "cowardly traitorous intellectual." It is also good, to have this inference supported by a frank admission that some workers like himself get their understanding, such as they have, from their native intelligence and from a "sore and feeling heart."

## Hysterical Conservative

When the excited aristocrat indulges in epithets about the demands of radical workers, some psychologists will know its significance. Excitement under such circumstances means a sort of fear—a feeling of inadequacy—of inferiority. This type of aristocrat is longing for conspicuous leisure and for wealth that he can ostentatiously waste, or secreted wealth for morbid contemplation. Sometimes these solaces are needed as the only means known to such persons for neutralizing a great feeling that they are inadequate to the demands life makes on them, or to protecting them against others finding out that they are inferior beings. Deprived of that neutralizer, some morbid aristocrats would feel like an infant that is wholly incompetent to provide its own food in democratic competition with the real producers. It is such depressing feelings of inferiority that prompt them to suicide, if bankruptcy overtakes them.

So the morbid conservative, with his disturbed emotions, regards as the enemy of society—the arch traitor—the intellectual who helps the laborer to get rid of his reverence for the aristocratic system of things. The morbid aristocrats feel intensely the need of having educated persons support the system that supports the privileged ones in idle ease. The educated ones who don't give that support commit treachery from within the household, as it were.

At the same time, when passionate aristocrats find themselves unexpectedly excluded from the charmed circle of the efficient beneficiaries, they too can become passionate rebels. It is not exalting to think that often times rebels are made from such petty spite, but it does not help to ignore the facts. After all much of the world's progress has grown from such morbid beginnings.

### Hysterical Radicals

It may not be wholly accidental that on the one hand these avowed aristocrats, and on the other hand some of the more passionate sorts of radical have the same attitude toward the intellectual with radical sympathies. I suspect some psychologic unity between the two, which compels the same reaction to a common stimulus. The conscious, excitable, aristocrat and his equally vehement opponent may after all be the victims of the same feudal attitude of mind, and then perhaps are only expressing different aspects of the same conflict going on among their own emotions. When this is so, then perhaps the intense epithetic type of radical is only a disappointed aristocrat who apparently opposes all existing privileges, only because what he really wants is to get new privileges for himself. Because he is a failure under the existing system, he must oppose it, and seek his special privilege under the disguise of radicalism and in the name of democracy.

In the historical material of his pamphlet, Mr. K. gives several examples of "intellectual" radicals who, in a crisis or in the hour of revolutionary triumph, have betrayed the revolutionary purpose. Indeed his argument against admitting intellectuals into labor organizations is wholly built upon such cases. He makes a special plea, which ignores wholly the relative infrequency of such cases, compared to cases of intellectuals who did not disappoint and to cases of real laborers who did become "traitors," and the excitement Mr. K. shows at the outset is just such as tends to make a genetic psychologist suspicious that Mr. K. is himself a sorely disappointed aristocrat, making a desperate fight to secure some privileges of his own, under the cloak of resistance to the privilege enjoyed by others. It is just these passionate radicals, who often find greatest difficulty in overcoming their suppressed feudal-minded ambition, when privilege beckons and successful autocrats smile upon them.

"Special pleas" are usually very logical. They often appear the more logical yet, because they ignore something important. Mr. K. himself sees this in others, when he says that the intellectual "will find a justification for everything he does." This is true of everybody. We differ only in the degree of our mental maturity, in our relative poise and in our available cultural data.

If Mr. K. had not been simply seeking to satisfy his own lust for power on the aristocrat's feudal-minded (that is, infantile) level, he would have shown an equal interest in a search for intellectuals who had not become "traitors" to the democratic cause

at times of crisis, or even under great temptation. Only by making that search could he keep his sense of proportion relatively correct, and check his evident tendency toward a too general denunciation. With such a more wholesome, or more mature psychology, Mr. K. might also have searched for and found real workers who have also betrayed the democratic cause, not only in times of revolutionary crisis, but during such commonplace events as strikes and elections. Probably the worker is often more blindly and less consciously a feudal-minded aristocrat than the intellectual radical is. There never has been a time when aristocratic institutions could have existed except by the support of the feudal-minded workers, who were fighting for a feeling of exaltation, by means of their slave-virtues.

Obviously Mr. K. is not sufficiently democratic to be willing to just help the worker to get all the light he can. He wants to fool somebody into accepting his leadership on faith, by excluding the rivalry and argument of all intellectuals.

### Needs of the Healthy-Minded

That sometimes a morbid intellectual radical will disappoint his fellow radicals by turning conservative, is inevitable. But this is equally true of the blatant vituperating radical worker. The world's problems will never be solved by the morbid ones. They can give us a world war or revolutions of the kind that are not followed by a democratic peace.

What the healthy minded workers need to be taught is to distinguish and to distrust the morbid enthusiast, whether intellectual, actual worker, or employer. All these will play tricks on his own less enlightened, yet conflicting emotions, and therefore lead him astray. These tricks will work effectively so long as the workers remain ignorant of the psychology involved. Furthermore, it is too easy to dispose of a rival by calling him a traitor. Even an employer's spy in the labor ranks performs that trick. The hyper-fervid imagination of an egotist always tends to feel that a difference of opinion is an insult to the egotist's omniscience. That emotional kind of passionate leadership produced the burning of negroes, the assassination of organizers even of the conservative American Federation of Labor; the lynching of I. W. W.'s; the organization of the Ku Klux Klan; legalized and lawless deportations; unnecessary revolutions, as well as disappointing revolutions. Why not strive for a leadership of the tough-minded variety whose intelligence is proportionate to the relative absence of passion?

# ATale of Twin Mayors

*Well, this is at least refreshing.*

*The tale here given is a challenge to other places to do likewise.*

*Who would have thought in the two little towns of Ohio that a mere strike would produce Labor Mayors? And yet, that has happened. More modern miracles of this sort are on the way. Help to bring them about.*

**W**HAT should be done by good union men and true, if they are locked out by a hostile corporation?

Why, take control of their city governments, of course. That will provide occupation for some of their number, and give the rest protection. It is perfectly simple.

So agree the striking shopmen of the Twin Cities of Tuscarawas County, Ohio—Dennison and Uhrichsville. It is precisely what they have done.

These shopmen are striking against the autocratic Pennsylvania Railroad. They have been at it for two years. The second anniversary of their strike was celebrated the other night, a few days before the convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action at Cleveland. The speakers at the meeting were Charles Kutz, Chairman of the Machinists on that System, and Louis F. Budenz, Managing Editor of *LABOR AGE*.

No natural eloquence was needed by the speakers among these men. The very assemblage was electric. Here was a hall, crowded to the doors with men who had stood out 24 long months—and were still in enthusiastic humor. There was no such word as "die" with them. Men who had worked for 34 to 40 years for the road were just as determined in their stand as those who had come on only a short time before the walk-out. The indignities against them by the road had gone too long and too far for them to think ever of surrender.

General Atterbury should have been there. He would have learned a lesson that months in his swivel chair can never teach him. He might have glimpsed the thought that Industrial Autocracy will not be sanctioned for a moment by free men.

The shopmen of the two cities struck at Industrial Autocracy in more ways than one. They struck. They also learned to vote. The local governments had always been in the hands of the Railroad, which is the biggest interest in them. To capture those governments for the workers had never occurred to them in the past. But the use of gunmen and the

hostile attitude of the authorities determined them to become the authorities themselves.

In Uhrichsville they put up a straight Labor ticket last year. It was headed by Frank Davis, a striking blacksmith. It was manned from top to bottom by striking shopmen. That ticket won. It was swept in, despite the imported thugs and automatic voters. In the future it can easily beat both old parties together, if its last vote counts for anything.

The new mayor is actively on the job. He has already secured a new park for the city, absolutely without cost. He did this by taking advantage of an old grant by a realty company, which the previous administrations had let slip by.

No longer can the thugs and gunmen of the company expect to be protected, while the strikers are sent to jail at the least act of *lese majeste*. Recently a run-in took place between strikebreakers and strikers at a nearby carnival. The Mayor took speedy action. He jailed the strikebreakers. He commissioned the strikers to see that the peace was preserved. Peace did result thereafter.

Next door, in Dennison, Charles Jeffries, likewise a striker, is at the helm. The city hall is now the strikers' place for mass meetings.

Dennison's story cannot be closed without mention of Frank Griffith. He is the heart and soul of the shopmen. At the time the strike broke out, he happened to be in charge of the police of Dennison. He saw that they were used for the public good, not for the good of the company.

Griffith happens to be a Catholic. At the time of the last election, Klan agitation was made use of by the company. The citizens were told that if Jeffries were elected, Griffith, "emissary of the Pope," would be in actual control. This led "Griff" to do a manly thing. He resigned as head of the police, stating that he would never seek public office locally. The result was: Jeffries was victorious. Griffith today is acting as representative of the strikers at \$15 per week! His spirit does not fag. He has refused offers made him, to act as a representative of "industrial peace" agencies at a large sum per year. These agencies, he knew, were merely tools of the corporations.

Thus runs the tale of the twin cities of Tuscarawas County. Labor is in control of both. Only the strike taught the men their power. Perhaps others will learn without such drastic need for a lesson.

# Labor History in the Making

*In the U. S. A.*

LOUIS F. BUDENZ, in Co-operation with the Board of Editors



A CLASS IN "COAL"

The beginning of group workers education in District No. 2, of the United Mine Workers. One of the classes in the Broad Top Region. Paul Fuller, Educational Director, on the extreme right of picture.

## FOR ARTHUR GLEASON

TOO often do we all forget what the heroes among us have done for their ideals.

The hurly-burly of life is too much. We are absorbed with the problems that come rushing in on us day by day. Our lives contain little isles of remembrance, amid a big ocean of forgetfulness.

It is not so much on the "sacrifices" of these comrades and brothers of ours that we should dwell. For, after all, the energy that they gave and the comfort that they lost, were made up for them by the urging of their inner selves. But the thought of them spurs on others to continue the beginnings which they have mapped out.

That was why we suggested in these columns that Arthur Gleason be not passed by with a mere word of good will over his fruitful life. That is why we thought it well to remember him by a Memorial in the shape of a scholarship in Brookwood Workers' College. It would remind folks always of the job which he set out to see done and which he set others to doing.

The Miners of District 2 have responded. It was in that district that Gleason did some of his most effective work. They know that, and have shown their appreciation. At a recent meeting of the executive board of District 2, it was decided that two annual scholarships should be established at Brookwood for miners—to be known as the Arthur Gleason Memorial Scholarships.

The resolution which created these reads in full:

"WHEREAS, Arthur Gleason who died in Washington on December 30, 1923, by his booklet 'Workers' Education,' published just prior to the first National Conference on Workers' Education (1921), aided materially in giving tone and direction to that conference, and

"WHEREAS, He saw clearly before most other men had done so, the value of Workers' Education in America as a result of his important study of the British Labor Movement and the part that this education had played across the seas, and

"WHEREAS, He contributed to the cause of American Workers' Education in its pioneering stage by his encouragement and counsel and by magazine articles on the subject, perhaps more than any other one man, Therefore

"BE IT RESOLVED, That as a tribute to his work and his memory, the Executive Board of District No. 2 name the two scholarships to Brookwood from District No. 2, the 'Arthur Gleason Memorial Scholarships.'"

## THE GOSPEL IN THE BROAD TOP

IN other ways, also, Arthur Gleason's soul is marching on.

As you rush along the Lincoln Highway, from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, you skirt the Broad Top region as you come toward Bedford. In that mining patch, cut off from the rest of District No. 2,

## LABOR AGE

a strike of 2,000 men is on—over a local dispute.

President John Brophy thought of the happy idea of beginning the local educational work of the District in that section—among the men on strike. In that way, several birds would be killed with one stone. The men would learn again the spirit and meaning of the Labor Movement. Their idle time would not pass uselessly, as they could use it for educational discussion.

Paul W. Fuller has begun the work there. He is to direct the educational work of the District. Formerly he was a minister of the Gospel. Now he is carrying the gospel of workers' education among the cut-off miners of south-central Pennsylvania.

Mass meetings have been the start. Then, have come discussion groups. Already have several of these been opened. The men go over the problems in their own industry. They thus make a pragmatic start in education. They go on from this to the problems of management, etc. We are pleased to say that *LABOR AGE* is used as the basis of many of the group discussions. We regard that as the chief of our many functions.

Several hundred miners are now talking over, in these classes, the question of "How to Run Coal." There can be no limit to the possibilities of this method of procedure. What will happen when several thousand begin to talk this thing over—or several hundred thousand? Democracy in industry will be on the threshold of coming into power.

### ABOUT "THE LAW"

**I**GNORANCE of the law is said to excuse no man.

The workingman has had enough experience with our corporation-owned courts to know that "the law" is a very peculiar animal. As Arthur Holder said at the C. P. P. A. convention: "It is strange that everything that is for the welfare of the people is unconstitutional, and that everything for the benefit of the corporations is constitutional."

But with all due contempt for our injunction judges, it is a wise thing to know on what basis they reason in attacking the rights of Labor. The corporations have high priced attorneys to advise them how to evade "the law." Labor might well keep itself informed as to what the judges are thinking and saying—just as it should keep itself informed on the tactics of the employers.

The A. F. of L. has taken a step to aid in this field. Already have local legal advisory departments or bureaus appeared in a number of cities. They have been founded by the local labor movements. The one in Portland, Ore., is a conspicuous example. The idea will no doubt spread.

The step the A. F. of L. has taken has been in issuing a legal bulletin. This covers the important labor cases, quoting liberally from the opinions of the judges. It is a handy thing for a labor man to

have in his files for reference in case of strike or other difficulty.

Some years ago the American Civil Liberties Union began such a service. This went out to its 1,000 lawyers over the country, and to others interested. It is said to have been very effective, in keeping the liberal-minded lawyers of the country informed on the civil liberty situation.

The A. F. of L. legal bulletins can be obtained from Matthew Woll, Vice-President, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. That immortal question: "Have you a little fairy in your home?" might be amended for this occasion. "Have you a legal bulletin in your office?" is an apt query. It might answer satisfactorily the further thought: "Have you a water-tight injunction knocking at your door?"

### FAITH AND OUR MONEY

**D**OUTB is fatal to anything. Faith alone builds and pioneers. He does, only who dares.

Take that master figure, Brigham Young. When Joseph Smith, the Prophet of Mormonism, announced that the Lord had handed down an order that all the faithful men should have many wives, Young was troubled. He was sick at heart. But he thought the thing over, meditating, and soon cheered up. So successful was his meditation that in a very short time he had taken unto himself 20 wives. Thereafter he had many others. With offspring innumerable. Thus did the House of Young and the fame of Mormonism grow and flourish. Faith had done it all!

Labor's enterprises rest largely on a similar foundation. Belief in its own power is the stone on which group action must be built.

Walking down Seventh Avenue in New York City in the evening, you run across a big electric sign near 33rd Street. It shows an engine running at fast speed, electric smoke flying in the air. It is the ad of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Trust Co. It is fitting that Labor banking should mean also Labor's invasion of the advertising field. Faith has built this bank and many others which the rail unions now own and control. The latest one to spring up is in Portland, Oregon.

Items that show how well that Faith is justified are these: The Producers and Consumers Bank of Philadelphia has just purchased the \$1,000,000 building in which it is located. The Federal Reserve Bank is now its tenant. The "Producers and Consumers" is controlled by the Central Labor Union of the Quaker City. It is the only bank in the country under the direct control of a central body alone.

Again, the International Union Bank in New York City has grown by leaps and bounds. Its cashier is the former able manager of the Joint Board of the Cloak Makers Union, Philip Kaplowitz. Although

it was founded so late as January of this year, its resources have risen to more than \$2,500,000. It is a state depository, and a member of the Federal Reserve Bank—through which it clears directly. It is a co-operative bank, so far as that is possible under our present banking laws. It pays share and share alike its depositors and shareholders, beyond the shareholders' guarantees of 8 per cent.

The stock of this institution is sold to unions and union members and sympathizers. But it cannot be sold to employers directly connected with the garment industry. The stock must not be sold on the market until the bank has been given 30 days to sell it. This keeps it out of undesirable hands. Stockholders are limited to 10 shares.

The growth of these labor banks is but a sample of the progress of that movement all over the country. On April 14th of this year, the Amalgamated Labor Bank showed a gain in resources of \$2,379,000—in one year of operation.

#### THE LABOR AGE IDEA

##### Including: Why This is the August Issue

**A**NY one can write for an intellectual. But it takes a genius—like Jesus or the author of Pilgrim's Progress—to write for the common people.

So says E. H. H. Holman, of Minneapolis, in his address to the Workers' Education Bureau Conference last year.

Be that as it may, simplicity in expression is the order of the present day. The numerous "Outlines" of this and that which are coming into being are evidence that can be quoted. The Doran Company is spreading culture in small doses in an excellent little series of books—the star of the lot to date being Arthur Thomson's **EVERY DAY BIOLOGY**. The idea is catching.

The man who is in a hurry needs things presented in tabloid form. He needs a clear, concise picture of the thoughts to be conveyed. He wants none of the Latin and French expressions behind which learned men hide their uncertainty.

That is the first plank in the **LABOR AGE** platform: to make things brief, to the point, simple.

It also has no Universal Cure for all the ills of humankind. It is not dogmatic. It is pragmatic. It knows that Labor is moving forward to possession of the world. It knows that the men who toil are coming into their own—the ownership of the tools with which they work. But it knows that they will not come into possession of these tools by any cut-and-dried plan or program—particularly any plan or program set by conditions or circumstances in other lands.

**LABOR AGE**'s fine task is to set down the advance steps thus being taken by various sections of the Labor Movement. Out of the joint experiences of the different groups will come a comparing of notes.

The choice of the most successful methods will result. Full Labor victory is around the corner after that.

This is the real job of workers' education and information. Our aim is to be for informal workers' education that Brookwood is for formal workers' education. With the campaign on in full swing, and with another season of activity before Labor, we want you to remember that **LABOR AGE** itself is not the least of the interesting new things growing out of American Labor's new efforts.

In order to be more effective in the campaign, we have decided to skip the July issue and call this the August issue. Our date of publication is now definitely set for the first day of the month of issue. You can count on the September issue, for instance, coming off the press September 1st. To make up for the issue that has been skipped, every subscriber will have their subscriptions moved up one month. That will insure them receiving the twelve months paid for.

The way in which **LABOR AGE** is doing its job is testified to by the fine increase in circulation during the past year. The growth of the magazine among union men and women shows of what value our message has been in the practical hand-to-hand fight of the American workers. The answer clearly is: It has filled the bill.

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phrase. The **NATIONAL BAPTIST** threw it at the **BAPTIST EXAMINER**, in their discussion years ago of the public thievery of John the Baptist Rockefeller. It applies nicely to Mr. Davis. His business is to rob us. He will not give up the game in the White House—even though he call on High Heaven night and morning for efficiency in the robbing job!

Wall Street has thrown down the gauntlet. The American farmers, workers and ex-soldiers have taken it up. They have named La Follette to upset the Money Power.

In the ensuing combat, their courage will be tried as never before. The servile press will attack them. It will have no regard for truth. Control of the markets and the moneybags is maintained only by control of the organs of opinion.

Efforts will be made to divide us. Already has the New York business press shown the sweetest sympathy for the "sacrifices" of the Socialists. The reason: The Socialist rank and file are numerous in New York. But the **MILWAUKEE LEADER** sees through the camouflage. So will effort follow effort.

We will be told we cannot win—so why throw away our votes? But this is the Day of Victory. It is the period in our fight similar to the time that sent Lincoln to the White House. Stand together—and defeat of Wall Street is at hand. Even as defeat came to the Money Kings, in part at least, in Britain and France.

## IN EUROPE

### FROM THE ISLAND-CONTINENT

**D**ID you ever hear of the man who thought he was the Emperor Napoleon?

For a time some folks believed him. They bestowed on him their love and worship. In the end—he landed in the place where all cracked brains go.

The capitalist faithful and pure of heart are being found out in the lands of His Christian Majesty, George V.—even beyond the seas. They are receiving the “palm of martyrdom.” Not economically—yet. Governmentally, only.

The Napoleon myth has faded, say the people of Australia by their recent votes. On the war wave the capitalist reaction rode into power. Labor governments were squelched everywhere—save in Queensland. The “strong men” were given the seats of the wise.

Now have the tables turned. South Australia has gone Labor. West Australia has dittoed. The standard of a false “Nationalism,” the *AUSTRALIAN WORKER* tells the world, has been torn down. The flag of “Internationalism” has been run up.

In South Australia the farmers took care not to block Labor in the elections. They were angry at the Conservative government. Their “Country” Party steered clear of attacking the Labor candidates or of opposing them in their strongholds. In West Australia Labor’s victory was even more clear-cut. A majority of 4 in a house of 50 is the way it stands. The new government there means business, too, it seems. It plans a wide-reaching policy of state aid. It intends to free the land from the grip of the land sharks and profiteers.

The sincerity and ability of Labor to do that very thing is seen in what has happened in Queensland. The farmers swear by the Labor Government there. It has given them the things they want and need. A government wheat pool has rescued the wheat farmers from the hands of the Profit Makers. So with cheese and dairy products. So with fruit. So with other farm goods. Then, it has developed farm banks, and assisted the farmers to organize on a national scale for their own protection.

But the battle does not go on, without leaving its scars. The fight in Australia has been a fight for free land. The Queensland Government has made that its fight. In the 1921 elections, Labor went to the bat on that issue and was upheld. But the Money Lords in London have had to have their say. Heeding the Australian large land owners, they put their foot down.

No loans to Queensland, unless there was a let-up on the efforts to squeeze down land values. That was the ultimatum.

Premier Theodore went to London, to discover a solution to the riddle. With the result: the riddle

was solved. But whether Labor has been forced to compromise too much with the Money Lords—or whether it has won a victory—remains to be seen.

Nevertheless, from the Island-Continent comes a message of hope. Frank Bohn, writing for the *A. F. of L.*, has recently called its Trade Union Movement one of the greatest in the world. It has made a name for itself—not the least of all, in taking over its own governments. May it also win in its struggle with the Kings of Gold!

### TEN YEARS AFTER

#### AUGUST FIRST, 1914.

**A**UGUST FIRST, 1914. Do you remember the day? It ushered in the World War. On that day Germany declared war, following Russia’s act in calling her troops to the colors. Ten years since that tragic event—the inevitable result, as Secretary Fred Bramley of the British Trade Union Congress says, of a system based on capitalist control!

Much water has gone over the dam since then. But it has been largely muddy water. After all the pain, Europe sits, on August 1, 1924, on another volcano.

E. D. Morel, Labor member of the British Parliament, and champion of international peace, describes that volcano in the London *DAILY HERALD*. It is the “vast arsenal” into which the powerful industrial and professional interests in France are turning the whole of Europe. These interests are busily at work, despite the recent Socialist-Radical victory in the French elections.

Their chief scene of operations is the hatred-torn Balkans and old Austrian Empire. Listen to a few things that Mr. Morel has to say: “There is going on at present a more extensive output of war material than at any time since the ‘Peace.’ The chief centers of production are two—the Skoda works in Czecho-Slovakia and the Austrian state factories. French influence and French money are directing both. France now controls practically the whole war mechanism of Czecho-Slovakia.”

Austria is in the war-making business up to the hilt. The state factories there are working at full steam. So are privately-owned munition makers. “During the past 15 months Jugo-Slavia has been supplied by these factories with 1,000,000 Mauser rifles and 1,000,000 rounds of rifle ammunition.” In addition, it has also purchased 133 wagon loads of infantry ammunition, 2 wagon loads of machine guns, 12 wagon loads of motor lorries, etc., etc.

Poland and Roumania have also been large purchasers of like death-dealing instruments at Austria’s hell-raising counter. From where does Austria, poverty-stricken as it is supposed to be, get the coin for such ventures? From the French, answers Mr. Morel—and proves his point.

But the French are not the only players at this game—though they are by far the biggest. British concerns are also shipping rifles and other munitions to the nations of the Little Entente. And in all of this game, the big nations are breaking their own international law. Under the peace terms, Austria is not a free agent in these matters. She is forbidden to manufacture arms for export. This illicit traffic is going on with the consent of the Council of Ambassadors, who are charged with enforcing this rule!

The peoples of the world should know what is going on. So says Mr. Morel. They should demand an international conference on the whole armament problem, and the political and economic issues back of it.

The light must be let in, on the putrid play of the international bankers and munition makers. If we do not do that, we will have shown that our ideas of war are so old that our heads have grown bald inside. By that time, indeed, war may have taken all our heads from us.

It's an International Conference or International Strife.

#### "A STATE OF WAR"

**S**TRIKES and rumors of strikes disturb the high tide of the British summer.

July 5th saw a joint lockout and strike in the building industry. The blow came after it had looked for a while that employers and workers would get together. In June the two groups had virtually reached an agreement for a slight increase in wages. Then suddenly, the members of the Building Employers' Association changed their minds, and decided on a lockout.

"A state of war" is the way that Richard Copeck, secretary of the Workers' Federation, puts it. National relations are now definitely at an end.

The serious part of the "war" is the effect it may have on the Government's housing program. The union officials, after a conference in London, passed a resolution pledging their co-operation with municipal and other public ventures in housing "by direct labor." "The lockout," they declared, "must not stand in the way of public necessity."

The private contracting end of the housing program—to be partly met by subsidies—is, of course, at a standstill. Except in the case of those few employers who have signed up. Ten days after the opening of the strike-lockout saw no chance of its being concluded.

Trouble is also brewing among the "engine drivers" on the railroads. A strike ballot has been sent out. It also may lead to a stand-still. The difficulty here is the manner in which the decisions of the National Wages Board is being carried out.

The building "war" and the engine drivers' troubles are both sanctioned by official action. Of late, Britain has been treated to a series of "un-

official" walk-outs. They have been uniformly successful—although in some cases involving a great number of men. The last attempt was the walk-out of the railway shopmen on the Great Western System. It began on the evening of June 4th, and ended nine days later—an utter failure.

It is interesting to know that in this fight, as in other union demands, *the workers are seeking for a guaranteed work-week*. That this was thrown away by hasty action does not mean that the issue is by any means dead. It is just rising as a demand of the British workers. More of it will be heard with every recurring wage negotiation or trade dispute.

#### FRANCE AND GERMANY ON THE 8-HOUR DAY

**T**HOSE superior pure-blond Nordics are having a helluva time to keep themselves the leaders of the world.

Over in Geneva, historic city, some more history is being made. The International Labor Conference of the League of Nations has been in session since early June.

The 8-hour day is the chief subject of discussion. The universal 8-hour day was laid down as one of the labor planks of the League platform, which all nations were supposed to endorse.

The new government of France comes forward as the strongest defender of that standard working day. Justin Godart, French Minister of Labor, said that France had an 8-hour act, even superior to the one recommended by the League of Nations. This law was passed in 1919, and has given valuable results. Thirty industries, grouping 5,000,000 wage earners, are now included under the provisions of the act.

Even the Nordic English cannot report such good results, and the Nordic Germans are pleading for the right to abolish their 8-hour regulations.

The Minister of Labor further declared that the 8-hour day had improved family life and social welfare. Physical recreation, reading, music, and gardening have increased greatly since the shorter day has come into force. Drunkenness has declined. France would not think of changing this rule, but wants rather to extend it.

The German Government through its delegate, declared that Germany had been forced to abandon the short work-day in certain industries. In mining, the glass industry and building, the 8-hour day obtains. The blame for the change in Germany was laid on reparations. "Germany has certain obligations to fulfill," stated its representative, "and a surplus can only do so if it can obtain a surplus of production—a surplus of exports over imports." Increased production per worker was the way to get this, he declared.

Sympathy with Germany in her many difficulties

*(Continued on next page)*

# WITH OUR READERS

(The interest aroused by the subjects discussed in recent issues of LABOR AGE has flooded this office with letters from our readers. It is impossible to publish all of them, but from now on we will devote at least one page to the most interesting of this correspondence.)

## FOR LA FOLLETTE

I TAKE a keen interest in everything that is printed in LABOR AGE. You put all the news in concrete form. It is easy to read and understand. It is a fine piece of work—just what the workingman and the man in a hurry needs.

I do not throw them away when I have read them, but pass them along to others to read.

I notice in the *Milwaukee Leader* that President Samuel Gompers warns Labor against the Third Party Movement. Now, that is all wrong. The Working Class should vote for Robert M. La Follette for President and support the Third Party. The two old parties are impossible.

GEORGE J. RAPPS.

Milwaukee, Wis.

## INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

You ask: "What is Industrial Democracy?"

A Democracy is a self-governing people free to do as they think best. It cannot be less than a nation, else it would be subject to dictation by the nation. It cannot properly be called industrial democracy if confined to a single factory, to a craft or one or more lines of industry. It must be national in scope. It must have power to control capital, fix wages and prices of products and service, and this concerns every individual in the nation engaged in industry.

Industrial pertains to industry—the necessary effort to supply the needs of life. In modern life it is the necessary social effort through division and exchange of labor to supply the needs of life. Everyone engaged in this laudable effort in any capacity must naturally be considered a part of an industrial democracy.

An industrial democracy should own the necessary capital and produce more as needed to end the conflict between capital and labor.

By what kind of logic does labor seek to control private capital, or to participate in management which affects the safety and returns of private capital? By what standard does labor determine the just reward of private capital? Does it not know that capital is only able to exact reward because it is *private*?

An industrial democracy needs access to and control of all natural resources of the nation for its proper functioning. These as well as capital have been legislated into possession of private owners. They can be returned to public ownership in the same way whenever the people make up their minds that they want them owned publicly.

The aspirations of labor for better working con-

ditions and a higher standard of living are fine, but they cannot have security and ample opportunity of employment, and they cannot eliminate business cycles of alternate prosperity and depression, with divided competitive capital in private hands.

Labor does not seem to understand how private capital can be converted into public capital without the use of force.

It will help them to understand how this can be done if they know that the power to coin money delegated by a democracy to its representatives is the power to use public credit for public service in the way people direct it to be used.

When they become wise enough to exercise their political power and use public credit for that purpose they can have industrial democracy.

With my understanding of the meaning of industrial democracy as outlined heretofore, and the fact that political democracy concerns itself almost wholly with things pertaining to industry, I would define it as "That part of political democracy which concerns itself with the exchange of labor effected through production, distribution and other service."

M. FRANKLIN.

Detroit, Mich.

*Because of the change of date of issue, final announcement on this question will be made in the September issue.*

(Continued from page 27)

need not be extended to German manufacturers. The workers there are "damned if they do, and damned if they don't." On the other hand, the independent attitude of the German Government on the short day question is only the natural result of the Allies' policy of continued hatred. Germany is out of the League—kept out; therefore, she does not have to obey the League demands on points of this kind.

The serious part of the German action against the 8-hour day is its result in other countries. In the metal industry the Germans have changed the 3-shift system of 8-hours each to a two-shift system of 12 hours. How Gary's heart must rejoice at this news! Czechoslovakia and Poland immediately begin to think in terms of the same action. If the game is continued, other countries would follow suit. With the longer work-day established, Germany would be on a par with them all again. Would another lengthening of the day result?

The weakening of the short work-day in Germany will not help that country in the long run. It may hurt others.

# BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS

## COOLIDGE, STRIKE-BREAKER

**C**ALVIN COOLIDGE should be proud of the book named after him, from the pen of M. E. Hennessy (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1924). It is interesting enough reading, and more interesting as part of the propaganda being fostered by the Republican Party to surround the President with a halo of glory in the eyes of all voters. This weak human vessel is to be held up as the champion of Americanism against "Bolshevism." Legend will picture him as the heroic smasher of the Boston police strike. When, as Hennessy here tells us, "a report reached Headquarters that members of the force were organizing a Union to be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. . . . The men claimed that they were underpaid, that in many instances their quarters were unsanitary, and that some of the rules of the department were unfair and unnecessarily harsh. Commissioner Curtis agreed in the main with the complaints of the men . . . but the Mayor protested. . . ."

So these wicked policemen struck. Then came this demigod and broke them; and appreciative 100%-ers should give him two terms in the White House!

## OUR MONEY

**I**T'S extraordinary how little the citizens of a democracy generally know about collective money matters. They'll get solid information, effectively presented in a book now before me, *PUBLIC FINANCE*, by Jens. P. Jenson (Thos. Y. Crowell, 1924).

One is bound to find occasional viewpoints with which he differs, in so large a volume (624 pages). The author, however, has made a sincere effort to present both sides of every controversial question. He is greatly to be congratulated on his fair and liberal attitude, as well as on the amount of knowledge he has here amassed.

## MEN AND ANIMALS—GAME

**Y**OU will be much entertained by C. H. Sherrill's *THE PURPLE OR THE RED*, (Geo. H. Doran, 1924). It "is dedicated to Benito Mussolini, ardent nationalist world leader against the international menace of Bolshevism."

The author has first hand information about the reds of all countries, personally confided to him by Mussolini, Horthy, and all the most prominent militarists and autocrats. Working class readers will also be edified by his descriptions of court ceremonial.

Besides humanity, this author loves also dumb animals (as game). Thus, he admiringly relates how "the best bag of recent years at Sandringham was that of December 5, 1906 (in which the king took part), when the total reached 1375; 499 pheasants, 717 partridges, 150 hares, etc." 'Nuff said.

## WHAT SHALL WE DO?

**W**HEN I was a young fellow trying to decide what vocation to take up, I felt keenly the want of any sources of information which could help me. I'd have given a great deal for the "Vocational Series" of 12 books now coming out under the editorship of E. H. Sneath. So would many others. The announced authors of them all seem to have been ably chosen for their tasks.

Before me is the first of the series, *THE YOUNG MAN AND THE LAW*, by S. E. Baldwin, (Macmillan, 1924). It gives in a comparatively compact space, an answer to all those questions which one contemplating entering this profession would be likely to ask. The book has one almost inevitable fault. That is, that it's written by an advocate who is obviously defending his profession from the hard things which have been said against it. He's trying to set it forth in the most attractive light he can.

## A VALUABLE BOOK

**L**AST fall the Sociological Society of London had the courage to ask the Psycho-Analytic Association to lecture to them and the public on what light psycho-analysis could throw upon political, social and economic questions. The lectures are now put into book form under the title *SOCIAL ASPECTS OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS*, edited by Ernest Jones, M.D., (Williams & Norgate, 14 Henrietta St., London, 1924. 17/6 net).

The public nature of the lectures has saved them from any danger of becoming too technical. The fact of all the authors being members of the Psycho-Analytic Association is the (necessary) guarantee that they have a right to speak from the viewpoint of this movement. Each lecture is a valuable, interesting contribution toward a deeper understanding than is commonly attempted, of some important social problem. Of all the books on this subject reviewed in these columns for the *LABOR AGE* reader, this is the one I recommend most.

\* \* \* \* \*

One never knows quite what to expect from the pen of Prof. Wm. MacDougal of Harvard. Most of his fellow psychologists probably look a little askance at his generalizations on life, questioning whether they're quite "sound." But stimulating, as well as charmingly naive they often are. In the introduction to his *NATIONAL WELFARE AND NATIONAL DECAY* (1921, London Edition, 1923), two men discuss a proposed island colony, "Eugenia." It is "a place in which persons of superior strains shall come together in marriage and, under ideal conditions, produce the largest number of children compatible with the perfect health and strength of all concerned. It is to be recruited by the admission of most carefully selected members."

The book is a presentation of well-known arguments for eugenics. Had it originated with a biologist, we should praise those truths which it contains. But from a psychologist one doesn't expect so simple a view of human nature and its problems.

## TOLSTOY THE MAN

**N**O man is a hero to his valet"—nor his wife, nor his intimates. The saying is illustrated by two short, striking books on Leo Tolstoy.

The first of these is Maxim Gorky's *REMINISCENCES OF TOLSTOY*, (B. W. Huebsch, 1920, \$1.50). Vividly, though without animosity, Gorky shows his friend's weird inconsistencies of character. Pathologists will get a clue in the remark: "What always repelled me in him was that stubborn despotic inclination to turn the life of Count Leo Nikolaevich (Tolstoy) into the saintly life of our blessed father, Boyard Leo."

"He had long intended to suffer . . . with the despotic intention of increasing the influence of his religious ideas. . . . He knows that 'martyrs and sufferers, with rare exceptions, are despots and tyrants'—he knows everything!—and yet he says to himself 'were I to suffer for my ideas, they would have greater influence.'"

There's rare insight in this book.

The second supplements it well. It's the *AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF COUNTESS LEO TOLSTOY* (B. W. Huebsch, 1922, \$1.50). The story we've always been told, of the Countess' lack of sympathy with her great husband's ideals, becomes now more human. Tolstoy is shown becoming more morbid. Disregarding the requirements, not only of his family, but of his own literary work, he becomes obsessed by the desire to wander away forever, homeless and propertyless.

The woman "did not know how to live with such views." "I was alarmed, frightened, grieved," she says. "But with nine children I could not, like a weathercock, turn in the ever-changing direction of my husband's spiritual going away. With him it was a passionate sincere seeking; with me it would have been a silly imitation."

## Following the Campaign

# OUR NEXT PRESIDENT

**O**N THE front cover of this issue appears the picture of the next President of the United States, ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.

Or rather, he will be the next President—if workers and farmers stand firm and united against their common enemies in both old parties.

THE COURSE OF THE CAMPAIGN WILL BE GIVEN, STEP BY STEP, IN THE FORTHCOMING NUMBERS OF "LABOR AGE."

The knowledge of what other sections of the labor movement are doing to put LA FOLLETTE into the Presidential chair will encourage your own movement in its own job.

"LABOR AGE" was the first national publication to show that LA FOLLETTE would be in the race, representing the workers and farmers, this year. It will give, during the fight, the same accurate summary of how the situation develops.

EVERY ACTIVE LABOR MAN SHOULD HAVE IT, FOR HIS INFORMATION, AND THAT OF HIS NEIGHBOR, DURING THE NEXT FEW MONTHS IN PARTICULAR.

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